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Sepoy Recruitment in the Old Madras Army



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The Indian Historical Records Commission at their third meeting decided to publish monographs on historical subjects. This monograph is the first of the series ; others will follow.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

In 1918 the Government of India desired that a memorandum should be prepared on the subject of the recruitment of the old Madras Army, based upon the Army Records then deposited in the Imperial Record Office. Accordingly the records were transferred to the Madras Record Office, where they were received in January, 1919.¹

On examining them, I found that in many directions they were incomplete in themselves and in need of reclassification. The latter has been completed, and a catalogue is in course of preparation, embracing both the records transferred from the Imperial Record Office and others which I obtained in 1912 from the late Adjutant-General's Office.

The incomplete nature of the Army Records, however, even when these two sections had been brought together and amalgamated, was such that no memorandum, based upon them alone, could have the least claim to finality. I therefore found myself obliged to examine the records of the Military Department of the Government of Madras, particularly for the latter half of the 18th century. This yielded a good deal of evidence, although of

¹ G. O. Financial No 863, dated October 21, 1918.

a less definite nature than I could have desired; and I do not suppose that further research among official records is likely to throw much additional light on the subject.

It will be observed that I have confined my remarks to the Madras Sepoy infantry, and that for two reasons. In the first place the Native Cavalry was always predominantly Mussalman; and in the second I have found no particular evidence either to oppose this opinion or to show in any detail the regions from which the cavalry were drawn. It is intrinsically probable that Northern India contributed many more recruits to the cavalry than to the infantry; and there I fear the question must rest.

CHAPTER I.

SEPOY ORIGINS.

THE evidence that survives regarding the composition of the Madras sepoy regiments is of divers nature and value. No statistical information remains of earlier date than the 19th century. For the previous century the evidence is scanty, and what has survived is vague and indefinite.

A quasi-military force of Indians was maintained at all the principal settlements on the Coromandel Coast practically from the first. Portuguese, Dutch, English, Danes and French all kept bodies of peons in pay. In times of crisis these peons were largely augmented. Such temporary levies were frequently called "Poligars' peons"; and this designation points to their having been men of the same sort as furnished the retinues of the local poligars, i.e., they probably belonged to those local sub-castes which claimed to be hereditary soldiers. In some cases the enthusiasm of later writers has given rise to statements that these men were trained in European methods of fire and tactics. Thus François Martin, forty years before Dupleix, is alleged to have drilled his peons *à l'euro péenne*.¹ But I do not believe any evidence exists to support such claims. The peons

¹ Desfosses, *L'Inde française avant Dupleix*, p. 124.

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employed on the Coromandel Coast were never considered as a serious military force until near the middle of the 18th century¹; and even long after that, their military value remained very uncertain.

It was long believed that Dupleix was the first person to perceive their military possibilities; and Colonel Malleson tells much the same story except that he would transfer the credit of the invention to Dumas, the predecessor of Dupleix at Pondichery.² However, as Dupleix himself says, although he misdates the episode, the Sepoy was discovered, not on the East Coast but on the West.³ As the story throws some light on the methods of recruitment and composition of the earliest sepoy forces, and I have discovered a certain amount of new evidence on the subject both at Pondichery⁴ and at the Madras Record Office, I will give a brief account of what actually happened.

The French settlement of Mahé on the Malabar Coast was founded in 1721, close beside the English settlement of Tellicherry. The colonial rivalry between the two nations was at this time rising to an acute pitch in India, and the struggle between Madras and Pondichery was, as it were, rehearsed in a milder form and on a more restricted stage on the Malabar Coast between 1721 and 1729. French and English supported rival claimants to local principalities and almost came into personal conflict. At this time a French royal officer, La Farelle, describes the Malabar troops as well trained, and incidentally mentions that the Moplahs mostly spoke Portuguese.⁵

¹ *The French in India*, p. 87.

² *Réponse à la lettre du Sieur Godeheu*, pp. 93-94.

³ References to the Pondichery records are distinguished as P. R.

⁴ La Farelle, *Mémoires et correspondance*, pp. 30-31.

The conflicts thus initiated burst out again from time to time, and in 1740 the French settlement was beleaguered by the prince they called Boyanore. In this year occurs the first mention of sepoys. " Nous primes le parti de mettre dehors nos cypayes soutenus de quelques soldats pour aller bruler quelques maisons de nos environs."⁶ A later letter explains what these " cypayes " were and whence they were raised. " We have collected as many Mussalmans as we could. They have been of great service . . . We have also received additional sepoys from Mangalore, who have served to strengthen our out-posts."⁷ It appears that there was at Mahé a good deal of irregularity about the payment of the Indian troops: but that the sepoys were on a more permanent footing than the others. In reply to a letter from the Pondichery Council, complaining that no musters had been held,⁸ the Mahé Council write:—" When M. de la Bourdonnais arrived, the only auxiliary troops we had were the Mussalmans commanded by Candotté Paqui. These troops are like the Nairs; they would all have gone off if we had tried to muster them . . . As for the sepoys, they have been mustered as regularly as the garrison . . . Among the troops M. de la Bourdonnais would establish here in war-time are Topasses, Sepoys, (), and Nairs. But all these foreign troops are of little service unless

⁶ Mahé to Pondichery, September 11, 1740 (P. R., No. 60, f. 662). Cultru dates the first mention February 1, 1741 (*Dupleix*, p. 310).

⁷ " Nous avons ramassé le plus qu'il nous a été possible de Maures. Ils nous ont été d'un grand secours . . . Il nous est venu aussi de Mangalore des cypayes d'augmentation qui ont servi à renforcer les gardes de postes." Mahé to Pondichery, January 8, 1742. (*loc. cit.*, f. 702).

⁸ Pondichery to Mahé, February 10, 1742 (*loc. cit.*, f. 49).

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supported by Europeans."⁸ One concludes from this passage that the sepoys are not to be identified with all the Mussalmans serving on the Malabar Coast. I conjecture that Candotté Paqui's Moors were Moplahs, whereas the Sepoys were drawn from further up the Coast, mainly from Mangalore.

This conjecture is on the whole supported by references in the Tellicherry records. Thus a return gives the following numbers and varieties of Indian troops in pay there:—

| | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|
| Calliquiloners | 226 |
| Sepoys and officers | 393 |
| Cotiote men | 33 |
| Tellicherry Moors | 24 ¹⁰ |

The "Calliquiloners" are Moplahs,¹¹ and are shown as quite distinct from the sepoys. Again, when the Tellicherry Council was desired to raise 500 of the best and most warlike people for service on the Coromandel Coast, men were sent out to recruit, not in the immediate neighbourhood, but to the Northward.¹² The districts covered by the "northward," are indicated in another passage, which says that the "scrivan" was sent to enlist 300 sepoys at Mangalore, Carwar, etc.¹³ Such were the men who first bore the name of sepoy on the Coromandel Coast.

⁸ Mahé to Pondichery, September 21, 1742:—"Lorsque M. de la Bourdonnais est arrivé, nous n'avions pour troupes auxiliaires que des Maures commandés par le nommé Candotté Paqui. Ces troupes sont comme les Nairs; si nous eussions voulu en faire la revue, ils se seraient retirés . . . A l'égard des Cypayes les revues se sont toujours faites régulièrement comme celles de la garnison . . . Dans le nombre des troupes que M. de la Bourdonnais fixe ici en temps de guerre, il comprend les Topas, Cypayes, (), et Nairs. Toutes ces troupes étrangères ne sont pas bonnes qu'autant qu'elles sont soutenues par des Européens (*loc. cit.*, t. 753).

⁹ Tellicherry Diary, May 6, 1747.

¹⁰ Logan, *Malabar Manual*, p. 401.

¹¹ Tellicherry Diary, May 18 and June 6, 1747.

¹² *Loc. cit.*, September 28, 1746.

It is uncertain which nation first employed them on the Malabar side; but the French were undoubtedly the first to introduce them in the Eastern provinces, and Dumas (not Dupleix) was the individual who did so. In September 1742, 200 had been sent and 60 more were promised.¹⁴ These seem to have formed two companies—one under Shaikh Hasan, the other under Bikhan Khan. The latter was returned with his men to Malabar in 1743;¹⁵ but the other company was retained, though without enthusiasm, for the Pondichery Council wrote to the Company, in the following year, that they saw with regret the costliness of the company of Sepoys at Pondichery, and had learnt by experience that they were not much use. However, they added, the troubles with Tanjore at Karikal compelled their retention for the present.¹⁶

The outbreak of war with the English in this year seems to have induced Dupleix, in spite of the unfavourable opinion he had expressed, to obtain another company of sepoy from Mahé,¹⁷ which I think was commanded by the brother of Shaikh Hasan, 'Abd-ur-rahman; and these two continued for some years to be the principal sepoy officers at Pondichery. It is impossible to tell the extent to which the composition of these "Mahé sepoy", was modified by local enlistment. In 1747 we know that 'Abd-ur-rahman was secretly enlisting men from

¹⁴ Mahé to Pondichery, September 21, 1742 (P. R. No. 60, f. 753).

¹⁵ *Diary of Ranga Pillai*, Vol. I, p. 238; and Pondichery to Mahé, October 22, 1743, (loc. cit. f. 601).

¹⁶ Pondichery to the Company, October 18, 1744, §131 "et desquels l'expérience nous a fait connaitre qu'on n'en peut tirer des secours bien efficaces." (P. R. No. 7).

¹⁷ Dupleix says 300 were obtained in 1746, but he says at the same time that this was their first appearance, which is demonstrably false. (*Réponse à la lettre du Sieur Godéheu*, pp. 93-94).

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Arcot.¹⁸ But we also know that a body of recruits was coming overland in 1748 and was intercepted by the English.¹⁹ In any case they seem to have remained predominantly Mussalman for some years.

This experiment was imitated by the English. In 1747 Floyer, the Governor of St David's, and Griffin, Commander of the Royal Squadron, wrote to Tellicherry for 500 of the best and most war-like people that could be had. A subadar was sent to the northward to raise men, but, as he could not get any at once, it was resolved to send 225 of those already in garrison, under the command of Bikhan Khan, who had taken service with the English after his return from Pondichery.²⁰ It seems that the men only went with reluctance, being advanced two months' pay with diet money for the march. They arrived some time before July 13. On the 23rd the Fort St David Council wrote requesting them to be made up to the 500 originally asked for,²¹ and 129 were despatched on August 19. Advantage was taken of these reinforcements to dismiss 860 of the Poligars' peons then in service. But on the whole the experiment proved a failure. Bikhan Khan entered into correspondence with the French, was detected, and was transported to St Helena.²²

Nor were the Malabar sepoys much more of a success at Pondichery. They were of service during the siege of that place in 1748; but the

¹⁸ *Diary of Ranga Pillai*, vol. iv, p. 196.

¹⁹ Nazelle, *Dupleix et la défense de Pondichéry*, pp. 309 and 344-45; Pondichery to Mahé, November 14, 1748 (P. R., No 61, ff. 283-84).

²⁰ Tellicherry Diary, May 18 and June 6, 1747.

²¹ Fort St David Consultations, July 13 and 23, 1747.

²² The proceedings of the Court Martial are preserved at the India Office. Bikhan Khan ultimately escaped, and reappeared in the French service at Mahé.

French found great difficulty in securing Indian officers on whom they could entirely rely. One subadar, Mir Sahib, after divers escapades, ended his life in the defence of Elevanasur, which he had seized and occupied as an independent robber-chieftain. In 1750 Dupleix ordered the sepoys at Karikal to be replaced by Topasses, whom he considered to be more useful.²³ In 1750, when 'Ali Khan was appointed "captain" of the sepoys, he was ordered to dismiss all the washermen and barbers, and replace them by proper men.²⁴ The abstract muster-lists and rates of pay of 1753 show that they still continued to be officered by Indians, though not exclusively by Mussalmans.²⁵

Meanwhile the English had already begun to take tentative steps towards another type of organisation, although the older type continued to linger for a while. In 1747 Venkatachalam, "commandant of the Black Military," was given 600 rupees to buy a horse, as a reward for his good conduct.²⁶ In 1754 Yusaf Khan received a commission as "commander of all the sepoys rais'd and employ'd by the Hon'ble Company on the Coast of Coromandel." However, the Commission runs, "you are also to obey all orders you may receive from time to time from ourselves (i.e., the Council), the officer commanding our army, or any officer that you may be with on post or detachment, under whose command and direction you are always to be."²⁷ In 1753 Shaikh Ji was sent on detachment with 3

²³ Le Riche to Dupleix, n. d. (P. R., No 84, f. 219).

²⁴ Ranga Pillai's Diary, September 18, 1752.

²⁵ *Mémoire pour la Compagnie des Indes contre le sieur Dupleix, Pièces Justificatives*, No XV.

²⁶ Fort St David Consultations, February 21, 1747.

²⁷ Cowle and Commission Books, Revenue Department, 1754.

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companies;²⁸ and in 1757 Jamal Sahib, "an old and experienced subidar" was directed to draft out 500 sepoys for the field and to have the command of them.²⁹

But this sort of thing became rarer and rarer. Already in 1748 the English sepoys had been placed under an English commander. Clive, writing of the early services of himself, Maskelyne and Bulkeley, says, "We were all three at the siege of Pondichery, and as a proof that our behaviour met with the approbation of the gentlemen of St David's, we were preferred to double posts."³⁰ Mr. Bulkeley was made Lieutenant and Commander of the seapoys."³¹ In 1749 sepoys were sent to Muhammad 'Ali "regularly trained in the exercise of fire-locks after the European manner, and experienced in that art."³² One may presume that this was the fruit of Bulkeley's appointment.

This however seems to have been only a temporary measure, for I do not know of any reference besides that just mentioned. But very soon after this, we find English sergeants in command of sepoy companies. The earliest reference to this possibly occurs in a "List of Peons, etc.," dated at Fort St David, January 31, 1749;³³ but, as Mr Hill points out,³⁴ the man's name is not mentioned, so he is not certainly a European. The first certain example is afforded by a man who went out a

²⁸ Orme Mss., various, 288.

²⁹ Military Consultations, May 19, 1757.

³⁰ I.e., held commissions together with some special appointment carrying an additional allowance.

³¹ Clive to the Company, March 8, 1755 (India Office. Misc. Ltrs. Recd. 1754-55. No 120).

³² Country Correspondence, 1749, p. 36.

³³ Factory Records, Fort St David, Vol. X. H. 315, etc. (India Office).

³⁴ *The Old Sepoy Officer*, op. Eng. Hist. Rec., 1913.

volunteer in 1750, carried arms six months, and was then appointed sergeant with command of a company of Sepoys.³⁵ That would have been at the end of 1750 or the beginning of 1751. After this comes the gallant sergeant who led the assault on Weycondah in 1753.³⁶ In the next year we find the office of adjutant of sepoy already in existence;³⁷ and in 1755 sergeants of sepoy appear regularly on the strength of the sepoy companies.³⁸

A scheme for the definite organisation of the Madras sepoy into battalions under European officers was interrupted by Lally's siege of Madras;³⁹ but in course of the siege, "it being found impracticable to maintain that order and regularity amongst the seapoys under their own commandants as the nature of the service requires, and as there is reason to believe they may be made more useful by being put under the command of a careful European Officer, Lieutenant Charles Tod is therefore appointed to that command."⁴⁰ This must have been found to work well, for at the close of the year the sepoy were formed into 6 battalions, under 3 captains, with 2 ensigns and 3 sergeant-majors to each battalion.⁴¹ In 1765 the ensigns of sepoy, who had, I believe, all been promoted from sergeants, were allowed to rank with the ensigns of the European foot for promotion;⁴² and in the same year

³⁵ McLean to James, January 12, 1761 (India Office, Misc. Ltres. Recd 1761, No 4).

³⁶ Orme, History, vol. i, p. 315.

³⁷ Fort St David Consultations, August 12, 1754.

³⁸ Military Consultations, 1755, p. 221.

³⁹ Military Consultations, December 4, 1758.

⁴⁰ Siege Diary, January 12, 1759 (p. 39).

⁴¹ Military Consultations, September 18, and December 17, 1759. Cf. also Military despatch to England, February 16, 1760, 17.

⁴² Letter to Major Campbell, *ap.* Military Consultations, February 28, 1765.

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the Madras sepoy battalions approached their familiar form by being given each a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign.⁴³ By the same order, 10 battalions were sanctioned; and the sepoy establishment thus amounted to 9,000 men.

The references to recruitment during this period are comparatively scanty. There were two obvious sources, of which we know advantage was taken. One was afforded by the French service, from which Clive, after his successes at Arcot and Caverypauk, received a number of men who had been recruited originally in Nellore. The other was afforded by the Nawab's service, which, being paid with great irregularity, was not too attractive, even apart from the superior prestige enjoyed by the Company's troops. There seems small reason for supposing that any considerable number of the men thus raised did not spring from families already domiciled in Southern India. The only specific mention of the enlistment of strangers—apart from occasional references to Abyssinians—seems to be an order from the Bombay Council to Tellicherry to enlist some "Caliquilone seapoys" for service at Madras.⁴⁴ And it is intrinsically probable that wandering adventurers, of whom there were doubtless a certain number, would have preferred enlistment in cavalry rather than in infantry units. We learn that recruits from Trichinopoly and Tanjore were better than those raised round Madras.⁴⁵ When in 1763 men were wanted for service in Manilla, 150 were raised at Arcot, 197 at Vellore, and 100 at Cuddalore.⁴⁶

⁴³ *Military Consultations*, November 4, 1765.

⁴⁴ *Military Consultations*, 1754, p. 117.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁴⁶ *Military Consultations*, May 2, 3 and 19, 1763 (II 241, 241 and 299).

Their composition is equally uncertain. Of the 14 companies that were with Clive on April 7, 1757, 6 were commanded by Hindus.⁴⁷ No exact definition of the castes which might be expected to furnish good recruits seems to have been attempted, although permission was given to raise 2 companies at St David's on condition that they were "all of the proper castes."⁴⁸ The quality of the sepoy forces would seem at this time to have varied enormously; and the same persons speak of them in the most conflicting way. Thus the Fort St David Council, within three months of rewarding their sepoys for good conduct, write to Fort Marlborough that "peons and Arabians" are of too little service to be worth sending.⁴⁹ Captain Dalton writes in his Journal of the sepoys enlisted by Clive that "They were a parcel of resolute fellows, and the continued series of success which for a considerable time had attended our arms, made them look upon themselves as sure of victory when supported by an English battalion."⁵⁰ Yet he writes of the Trichinopoly garrison, "The black fellows will all decamp the first day they want their rice."⁵¹ Mir Munsur in 1753 and Bulwant Singh in 1760, so distinguished themselves in action that they were given gold medals in honour of their gallantry;⁵² but after the loss of St. David's in 1758, the Madras Council consider that little reliance can

⁴⁷ Wilson, *Madras Army*, vol. I, p. 373. It is perhaps worth noting that in 1769 a Hindu sepoy, who had accompanied Clive to Bengal in 1756, was permitted to return to the Madras establishment as Subadar. Military Consultations, March 29, 1769, f. 319.

⁴⁸ Military Consultations, September 12, 1757.

⁴⁹ Fort St David Consultations, June 28, 1748; and letter to Fort Marlborough (Fort St David Ltrs sent) September 2, 1748.

⁵⁰ Ormg Mss India, III, f. 547.

⁵¹ Military Consultations, 1753, p. 64.

⁵² Wilson, *Madras Army*, vol. i, pp. 73 and 135.

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be placed upon the sepoys.⁵³ Again, in the course of the siege of Madras, 1000 were sent out under Jemal Sahib to force the enemy's guards and beat up St. Thomé. "But upon the first fire of the enemy, many of our seapoys threw down their arms and fled; the rest, struck with a panic, retreated in disorder . . . This shows that no dependence can be placed on the seapoys."⁵⁴

In any case they seem to have been superior to the sepoys in French service. "You would be surprised," writes Lally, "at the difference between the black troops of the English and ours; it is greater than that between a Nawab and a cooly; theirs will even venture to attack white troops, while ours will not even look at their black ones."⁵⁵ For this there were probably two reasons. One was that the more regular pay of the English Company attracted better material. The other was that although the discipline instilled by the English organisation had not yet become very thorough, yet the advantages that might be derived from training were already becoming apparent.

⁵³ Military Consultations, June 26, 1758.

⁵⁴ *Siege Diary*, December 19, 1758 (p. 9).

⁵⁵ Lally to Leyrit, February 23, 1759 (*Mémoire pour le sieur de Leyrit*, p. 308).

CHAPTER II.

RECRUITING RULES.

The sepoy force, therefore, dates in its modern form from 1765, although it had not at that time attained its full measure of efficiency. This may be attributed in part to the undeveloped stage in which the training organisation still remained, in part to the lack of any definite regulations about recruiting. The earliest specific reference to the latter seems to be in 1686, when the Company was under the vigorous influence of Sir Josia Child. They then ordered the primitive settlement of York Fort in Sumatra to send Malay recruits to Madras, "It being by such wise balancing the power of various castes of natives that the Dutch govern so great a proportion of India, their native Dutch not being one to ten thousand of those that live under their dominion."¹ But such political views were too far in advance of their age to be acted on or followed up; and though, as we shall see, the recruitment of Malay soldiers for Madras was to be again proposed a century or so later, neither proposal was adopted. When country powers chose to threaten Madras, additional "poligar peons" were taken into pay; but they

¹ *Despatches from India, 1681-86*, pp. 215-16.

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were dismissed again as soon as the danger was over; and naturally enough no recruiting rules were drawn up until the sepoy troops 'became a serious military force.

Even then the rules seldom made reference to the caste of the men or the composition of the force. Thus in 1762 it was ordered "that the sepoy companies shall be completed as often as the Governor and Council shall judge necessary, but never without a particular order. When on service in the field the commanding officer may complete the sepoy companies whenever he shall think necessary."² In 1765 the Military Regulations were printed;³ but no copy, so far as I know, has survived. However it is likely that they contained little to our present purpose, beyond a general restriction of recruitment within "the proper castes." The earliest definition of what the proper castes were seems to be that of an army order confining recruitment so far as possible to Rajputs, Mussalmans and three Telugu castes—the Kammavāru, the Rāzu, and the Velama vāru.⁴ At much later dates weavers and cultivators were excluded—the latter, we are specially told, "are seldom found to make staunch sepoys."

On one occasion only does the composition of the various regiments seem to have been considered. This was soon after the castes suitable for recruitment had been defined. The Madras Council observed:—"At present the sepoy battalions are composed of men of different sects or religions, on which account they cannot be supposed to be so

² Military Consultations, July 26, 1762, f. 244.

³ *Ibid.*, July 8, 1765, f. 655.

⁴ Madras G. O. G. November 24, 1786 and Army Orders vol.

attached to each other as if each battalion were composed of men of the same sect or religion. It is therefore proposed that each of the sepoy battalions be formed of men of the same caste, either Mussalmen, Malabars, or Gentoos, which it is presumed may not only be productive of greater attachment and harmony among the sepoys of the same battalion, but also may create a spirit of emulation among the several battalions."⁶ However it was decided that this proposal, which would have anticipated the class composition of the modern Indian Army, was only to be taken into consideration on the arrival of the Supervisors who had been appointed in the previous year. The Supervisors were lost at sea, and the matter dropped without further discussion.⁷

Thus the composition of the various Madras sepoy battalions depended entirely upon the accidental caste of the recruits who presented themselves for enlistment in the various regiments, and upon the equally accidental results of the extensive drafting which took place on the formation of new battalions. What rules existed tended to be relaxed rather than to be tightened. Thus by a general order of the Commander-in-Chief of 1839, it was laid down that "all natives are eligible for enlistment without reference to caste, provided they are in all other respects perfectly fit for the service."⁸ After this however a new tendency set in. It was resolved to recruit in equal proportions from four main classes:—

⁶ Military Consultations, May 7, 1770, f. 119.

⁷ It may be noted that Clive seems to have favoured the "mixed" battalion system. In 1765 he recommended that the battalions should be composed of equal numbers of Mussalmans and "Gentoos," by which latter he probably meant Hindus in general. Malcolm, *Life of Clive*, vol. iii, p. 143.

⁸ G. O. C. C. dated September 21, 1839.

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Tamils, Telugus, Mussalmans, and men of lower castes; but even so, it was not intended to group any of these in any particular regiment, but to divide them equally through the whole.^o

^o E. M. C. Military, No 139 dated July 6, 1858.

CHAPTER III.

RECRUITING TO 1784.

As is the case with the recruiting regulations, so too with the actual process of recruitment, the extant information is too vague to admit of precise conclusions as to the classes of the community from which the sepoy was principally drawn. Thus, for example, in 1765, we read "You are at liberty to compleat all the companies and if any more good recruits should offer, and you can procure arms for them, you may receive and incorporate them with the several companies."¹ In 1768, while the First Mysore War was in progress, it was ordered "that Black officers and Sergeants be sent by the Captains on recruiting service."² We cannot even tell from what part of the country the bulk of the recruits came. A certain number came from the Nawab's service. Thus in the beginning of 1766, the Nawab was "desired to discharge out of his present useless expensive numbers as many sepoys as we propose to raise for his service at Trichinopoly, vizt. another battalion. We therefore direct that you apply to the Nabob and urge him to carry into execution as soon as possible this measure . . . , receiving from

¹ Council to Major Charles Campbell, *ap.* Military Consultations, April 9, 1765, f. 272.

² Military Consultations, December 6, 1768, f. 1877.

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him all such sepoys as he may discharge, and out of them chuse such as you may think proper for our service, who will soon, under your care and inspection, form a serviceable body."³ At the end of the same year another battalion was to be chosen out of the Nawab's sepoys at Ongole.⁴ About the same time the commandant at Timarikottai was ordered to complete his battalion, of which three companies had been raised, with men chosen out of the Nawab's troops stationed there.⁵ In 1769 Colonel de Beck at Madura was to entertain as many of the Nawab's sepoys as he wanted and could persuade to enlist.⁶

All these instances, it will be observed, took place under the pressure of war. And the same thing happened again when the Second Mysore War broke out. Thus in 1780 Colonel Nixon took into the service 100 of the Nawab's disbanded troops who threatened that otherwise they would join Hyder Ali.⁷ A little earlier the Nawab had agreed to the whole of his 9th Battalion being transferred to the Company's service and had permitted another to be raised out of his Sibbandis in the Tinnevely district.⁸ In 1782 Coote was convinced of the necessity of using this source of recruitment, while pointing out the evils of receiving the Nawab's sepoy officers, which robbed the Company's people of their expected promotion.⁹ It is however clear that such recruitment was exceptional, due to the exigencies of war and not to a settled policy.

³ Military Consultations, January 8, 1766, ff. 13, etc.

⁴ *Ibid.*, December 30, 1766, f. 644.

⁵ *Ibid.*, January 27, 1767, f. 50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, January 9, 1769, f. 14.

⁷ *Ibid.*, November 20, 1780, ff. 1941-42.

⁸ *Ibid.*, October 26, 1780, ff. 1613-14.

⁹ *Ibid.*, April 25, 1782, f. 1152.

We know that both in war and in peace recruitment proceeded in all the districts of the Carnatic and of the provinces to the Southward, in accordance with the necessities of the establishment. In 1767 we hear of a hundred "colleries" being recruited at Ongole.¹⁰ Ten years later the commandant believes he can raise a battalion of better recruits in Ongole and Nellore than can be obtained to the Southward, and is accordingly authorised to do so.¹¹ In 1780 the Company's recruiting there was obstructed by the Nawab's people who were raising a corps of Sibbandis,¹² and in 1781 commissions as seroy officers were promised to those who succeeded in bringing in specified numbers of recruits in that district.¹³

Arcot and Vellore, with the surrounding districts, were common recruiting centres, and, I conjecture, furnished a considerable proportion of the Mussalmans who joined the Company's service. In 1767 there were difficulties because the Nawab was raising two battalions at Arcot,¹⁴ but about the same time Captain Pascal raised 100 at Chingleput in a couple of months,¹⁵ and the sergeant at Permacoil raised a company in 1766.¹⁶ At the augmentation of 1777, the 17th Carnatic was formed at Madras, and the 18th at Vellore. However the Arcot recruits were not always satisfactory. In 1777 there were complaints of their

¹⁰ Military Consultations, June 13, 1767, f. 467 "Colleries" cannot be used here with its normal meaning of "Kallars," but probably indicates a cognate caste.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, January 6, 1777, f. 46.

¹² *Ibid.*, October 16, 1780, ff. 1614-15.

¹³ *Ibid.*, March 15, 1781, ff. 668-69.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, August 17, 1767, f. 739.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, September 14, and November 9, 1769. ff. 897 and 1192.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, February 17, 1766. f. 74.

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being "low in size, low in caste, and very bad indeed." In 1780 the 11th was directed to recruit in the neighbourhood of Arcot.¹⁷

The country round Cuddalore was also drawn on, though with some hesitation. In 1766 two independent companies were raised there; in 1767 application was made for leave to raise two more;¹⁸ but in the former year the Council was warned to enlist "none but such as are very fit for the service,"¹⁹ and in the latter Captain Robert Dowsett reported:—"I fear the Seapoys I may be able to procure here will be very indifferent; there are many who will entertain to serve on the spot, but not to join the army, so that little dependence can be placed on them."²⁰ The 19th Carnatic was formed there at the augmentation of 1777.²¹

Much more important was the country South of the Coleroon, with its principal garrisons of Trichinopoly, Madura, and Palamcottah. Colonel Wood was directed to raise as many as he could in those parts in 1767.²² Here as elsewhere at this period the Company's recruiting was hampered by the Nawab's. "The method he takes to get them," we are told, "is by advancing money beforehand, otherwise they would not enter into his service."²³ However as the Company's needs were pressing, this competition was met by giving Subadar's or other commissions to men who succeeded

in raising certain numbers; and although this was contrary to the Sepoy regulations, the Council was obliged to condone it. "During the course of the campaign to the southward," writes Charles Raitt, the paymaster with Colonel Wood's army, "Colonel Wood, in order to recruit his battalions, which were daily growing very weak, offered to such as could bring 50 recruits the rank of a jemadar in the service, the rank of havildar to such as brought 30, and to those that brought 20 the rank of a naig."²⁴

The Council replied, "As the Officers who were promised promotion according to the number of sepoy recruits they brought into the service, are all appointed to vacancies, we shall not set them aside; we must however remark that such a practice is very inconsistent with the regulations, and must not in future be allowed of."²⁵

At the augmentation of 1777, the 20th and 21st Carnatic were formed at Trichinopoly.²⁶ In the course of the Second Mysore War, the 1st Carnatic was recruited about Tanjore and Trichinopoly,²⁷ the commandants of the Southern garrisons were ordered to use their utmost endeavours to procure sepoy recruits,²⁸ and a special corps of light infantry was raised at Palamcottah,²⁹ besides two line battalions raised one at Trichinopoly and the other at Tanjore.³⁰ That these Southern levies included a number of Kallars is suggested by the fact that while lying in front of Cuddalore in June, 1783, General Stuart ordered the temporary

²⁴ Military Consultations, November 21, 1768, ff. 1709-10.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, November 22, 1768, f. 1716.

²⁶ G. O. G., April 23, 1777.

²⁷ Military Consultations, October 9, 1780, f. 1667.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, September 15, 1780, f. 1406.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, December 6, 1780, f. 2041.

³⁰ G. O. G., April 4, 1782.

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formation of a Company "composed of men who are of the Polligar or Colliery caste," to be employed as scouts.³¹

There yet remains to be considered the recruiting in the only extensive area at this period under direct British control. The Northern Circars, after having been held for about four years by the French, were nominally granted to the English by Salabat Jang in 1759; but they did not effectively pass into English possession until Clive had procured a confirmation of the grant from Shah 'Alam at Allahabad in 1765, and the Nizam had been coaxed into recognising the former grant and the recent confirmation by a promise of peshkash. From 1766 onwards, the Northern Circars were in effect Company's territory. This led to the formation of a group of battalions altogether distinct from those serving in the Carnatic and the Southern Provinces, and called from 1769 to 1784 the Circar, as opposed to the Carnatic Battalions. The 2nd Battalion formed in 1758 became the first of these, and was numbered the 1st Circar Battalion. Another battalion was raised in 1766 out of the forces of the renter, Hussain Ali Khan.³² Three more battalions were raised for service in these districts in 1767 and 1769, and another two in the course of 1776. These units appear to have been recruited entirely in the Northern Circars with an understanding that their service was similarly limited. I have not found any reference to the transfer of recruits thither from the Southern districts. When the exigencies of war demanded the employment of the Circar battalions out of the

³¹ G. O., Camp South of Cuddalore, June 18, 1761 (2), 1761 (Madras Army Recs., Series iii, Army Orders, No. xxiii).

³² Military Consultations, December 31, 1765, l. 110, and Military Sundry, No. xxxii, f. 1.

Circars, as happened in the Second Mysore War, they still drew recruits out of their original districts. Thus when the 2nd Circar Battalion was wiped out at Polilur in 1780, Captain James O'Hara was appointed to the command, and ordered to proceed to the northward to recruit with all expedition.³³

The records do not contain many references to the recruitment of these battalions; and the most interesting mention is strangely inconsistent with other statements. In 1778, when Government had ordered two new battalions³⁴ to be raised, Major Mathews wrote from Ellore to the Masulipatam Council, "We now want to compleat the battalions in this Circar 619 men; since the order came to raise two new battalions, we have not been able to recruit more than 300 men, which are too few to compleat the old battalions, and present us with a poor prospect of increasing the force in this Circar by new levies. Our neighbours are preparing for war, and have for a long time been employed in raising men, which is an impediment to our recruiting views, for idle men wish to serve those that give least trouble and where discipline and subordination are too weak to enforce obedience . . . I think it is impossible to raise a new battalion in twelve months."³⁵ Yet three months later, we read, "the 9th Circar battalion ordered to be reduced consists of 1,083 commissioned, non-commissioned, and private, and that all the other Circar battalions are complete with privates except the 8th which wants 9 men."³⁶ We must therefore draw from Mathews' letter a conclusion directly

³³ G. O. G., September 24, 1780.

³⁴ They would have been the 9th and 10th; but were ordered to be distributed among the other battalions shortly after.

³⁵ Military Miscellany Book, 1778, vol. i, ff. 347-49.

³⁶ G. O. G., January 27, 1779.

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opposite to its intention. The Circars must have been a good recruiting area if 1300 men could be raised in a short time when the country had been drained by foreign recruiting-parties.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RE-ORGANISATION OF 1784-85.

One thing emerges clearly from a consideration of the recruiting system between 1765 and 1784. The divisions of the battalions into Carnatic and Circar, coupled with the fact that the latter were stationed almost exclusively in the Circars, while the former served almost altogether in the more Southern provinces, must have led to the Circar battalions being principally Telugu. This seems to be the one broad fact which can be regarded with tolerable confidence. At the same time we know that the Circar battalions were the least efficient part of the Coast army.¹ In 1780 the 1st Circar Battalion mutinied at Vizagapatam and murdered one and wounded others of their officers. In 1781 at the second battle of Polilur, another Circar battalion, on being ordered to advance and dislodge the enemy from a tope, effected "this in a very irregular and confused manner;" but, when they were then required to carry a dismantled village in which the

¹ In part this would seem to confirm the verdict on the different classes of Madras sepoys given in 1890; in part it was due to the battalions often being scattered in small detachments over the country. See Wilson, *History of the Madras Army*, vol. ii, p. 19 and 17.

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enemy had found shelter, "the battalion instead of advancing in any kind of order, fell immediately into a scene of mixed confusion," and their officers had the mortification of seeing the village carried, with great steadiness, by the 20th Carnatic." In December of this year enlisting was suspended in the districts dependent on Masulipatam.* In 1782 drafts ordered from Ellore to Madras broke into mutiny, on which the Government commented:—

"The Committee can scarcely conceive it possible that any troops, whose discipline had been properly attended to, could proceed to such an extremity for no other reason than their being ordered upon service."† Coote's remarks were even more severe.

"I have only to refer you to the opinion I before gave regarding the Circar troops in general, to which I shall here add that, exclusive of their having already shown themselves both cowardly and undisciplined, their present conduct is sufficient of itself to exclude every favourable expectation that could possibly have been entertained of their services." In 1785 the Commander-in-Chief observed:—"The battalions raised and disciplined in the Circars have been little or no use to us; and whilst the military system continues on the present footing to the northward, and the local prejudices continue in the corps, we can never expect much from the troops; and the instance of the desertion of two-thirds of the two Circar battalions that were ordered to join Sir Eyre Coote in the late War, and

* Letter from Coote, on Military Consultation, September 12, 1781, ff. 2457-58.

† *Ibid.*, December 22, 1781, f. 3493.

* *Ibid.*, May 21, 1782, ff. 1572-73.

their subsequent behaviour at the action of Polilore, proves the assertion.⁵

The poor reputation which the Circar battalions enjoyed at this time is amply manifested by the treatment accorded to them in the course of the re-organisation which followed the Second Mysore War. In October, 1784, the distinction of Carnatic and Circar battalions was abolished, and the battalions were renumbered. The 1st to the 21st Carnatic Battalions retained their former numbering, while the eight Circar Battalions were numbered 22nd to the 29th, thus being ranked as junior to a number of units of much more recent formation.⁶ Indeed the 1st Circar Battalion was one of the oldest in the service, while the 2nd and 3rd were the 12th and 13th in actual order of formation. Nor was this considered sufficient. In the following year, when the number of Sepoy battalions was reduced from 35 to 21, the units selected to be broken up were the 8 Circar together with the 6 junior Carnatic battalions. In recommending this, the Commander-in-Chief remarked that the 16th—21st Carnatic battalions had distinguished themselves in the war by repeated gallant and meritorious behaviour, and he reminded Government that this was the reason why they had been given seniority. Thus the Circar battalions were broken up and distributed among the remaining Carnatic units.⁷

The effect of this upon the composition of the Madras battalions is evident. It brought to an end the system under which certain units served and were

⁵ Minute of the Commander-in-Chief, *ap.* Military Consultations, August 16, 1785, ff. 2199-2200.

⁶ G. O. G. October 16, 1784.

⁷ Minute of Sir John Dalling, *ap.* Military Consultations, August 16, 1785 (ff. 2197-99).

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principally recruited in the Telugu country, and established for all units a "mixed" system, under which their composition, so far as one differed from another, was a matter of accident.

CHAPTER V.

RECRUITING 1785 TO THE BEGINNING OF THE 19TH CENTURY.

In this second period the recruiting of men from the Nawab's service, which, as we have seen offered a resource in case of emergency, was seldom resorted to. Indeed, the only considerable example is that of the enlistment of 400 cavalry and infantry in January, 1791.¹ When the Rajah of Ramnad was deposed in 1795, an attempt was made to secure recruits from the peons he had in pay, but, as they were in hopes of getting their arrears, they were unwilling to disperse or leave the place.² However, when the French troops serving with the Nizam were disbanded in 1798, 700 men were obtained, and afterwards formed into the Masulipatam battalion,³ which became the 30th Madras Infantry in 1824.

However we have in 1785 the origin of a new, regular and important method of recruiting. In that year the muster-masters were authorised to allow on the muster-roll of each company two boys, the sons of sepoy killed or died on service;⁴ and two years

¹ G. O. January 27, 1791 (Madras Army Records. Ser. iii, Army Orders, vol. xxxvii).

² Military Miscellany, vol. xlv, f. 510, and vol. xlvi, f. 26.

³ Military Consultations, November 13, 1798 (ff. 6853-55); and February 19, 1799 (ff. 1018-19); and G. O. G. No 44, April 10, 1799.

⁴ G. O. G., October 22, 1785.

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later this plan received a large extension. Forty boys were to be carried on the rolls of each battalion as recruits on a subsistence-pay of 33 fanams a month, until they were fit to be entered as privates. They were to be chosen from the near relations of old soldiers, with a preference for the sons and brothers of those who had lost their lives in the service.⁵ 'In 1790 their number was increased to 50 per battalion.⁶ In 1796, when regiments were formed of two battalions each, they were again increased to 160 per regiment,⁷ and in the following year 10 extra boys were allowed to each battalion on foreign service on the express condition that they should be near relations of men who had died on service.⁸

But this method, which, it will be observed, tended to stereotype the existing composition of the battalions, was not adopted on a scale considerable enough to supply the normal wastage even in years of peace, while during war active recruiting became more than ever necessary. We continue then to find recruiting parties at work, sometimes—as we shall see—very far afield. At first however recruiting in the Northern Circars does not seem to have been favoured. Thus we read:—"The commanding officers of corps of Coast native infantry are directed to send recruiting parties to the garrisons of Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Madura and Palamcottah." I do not know that any reason was assigned for this limitation; but it is difficult not to refer it to the fresh memory of recent events mentioned in the last

section. This activity ceased with the end of the war in 1792; but shortly after, commanding officers were authorised to entertain as many men as were needed to keep their corps complete.¹⁰ Between 1798 and 1804, 21 new battalions were raised—8 in the districts south of the Coleroon, 4 in the Carnatic, 5 in the Northern Circars, and 4 in Mysore and the districts ceded in 1792 and 1799.¹¹ While this distribution suggests a marked preference for recruits from the Southward it also shows that the prejudice against Telugus had largely died away. It should of course be remembered that at this time, in contradistinction to the period of the Second Mysore War, the various regiments were of mixed composition, with but accidental differences between one and another.

The system of forming new units on drafts from the old ones, together with periodical changes of station, made that a practical certainty. Thus it was laid down in 1786 that augmentations should consist of entire battalions formed on drafts so proportioned that both new and old corps should contain the same percentage of recruits;¹² at the same time, it was ordered that the breaking-up of family ties should be so far as possible avoided.¹³ This was apparently followed when 7 new battalions were raised in 1786.¹⁴ However the policy was

¹⁰ G. O. Gs., May 4 and September 12, 1792.

¹¹ G. O. Gs., October 12, and November 9, 1798; December 14, 1799; April 16, and July 22, 1803; and April 10 and October 9, 1804. The details are set out below :—(1) *South of the Coleroon*—Trichinopoly 4, Tanjore 1, Madura 1, Tinnevely 2; (2) *Carnatic*—Vellore 1, Nellore 1, Walajabad 1, Madras 1; (3) *Northern Circars*—Masulipatam 1, Guntur 1, Ellore 1, Chicacole 2; (4) *Mysore, and Ceded districts*—Serlingapatam 1, Bangalore 1, Erode 1, Cuddapah 1.

¹² G. O. G., April 16, 1786.

¹³ G. O. C. C., May 20, 1786.

¹⁴ *Loc. Cit.*, the chief exception was that certain sibandi units were included bodily.

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severely condemned by Colonel Brathwaite, acting Commander-in-Chief, in 1793.¹⁴ "In native corps of any standing," he wrote, "the ties of caste and consanguinity are so strong and numerous, from frequent intermarriages, . . . that any separation amongst them must be felt by them as peculiarly distressful. The inhabitants, distributed to distant corps, [and] severed from their relations, become 'disgusted with the establishment, and from desertion are frequently lost to it; while their connections in the old Corps, embarrassed in their domestic arrangements and put to too much inconvenience, lose that confidence in the service which they have been used to have, and that faithful attachment to it, for which they have been so eminently remarkable, is greatly weakened. On these accounts the extensive drafting which took place on the Coast in the year(s) '85 and '86 gave a general shock to our native establishment, from which I may say it has not yet recovered.'" ¹⁵

This presumably affords the reason why in the following year 4 new battalions were raised, not on drafts of trained men, but on recruits lately raised by the old battalions.¹⁶ One of the new battalions, the 35th, was soon afterwards sent on active service to Ceylon, where it mutinied. Colonel Stuart, in command of the forces in the island, reported that it was principally composed of boys, its European officers were inexperienced, its sepoy officers but recently drafted from other corps, and the whole sent on active service without knowledge of or confidence in each other.¹⁷ After

¹⁴ Military Consultations, May 24, 1793 (ff. 2972-73).

¹⁵ G. O. C., No. 63, August 12, 1794.

¹⁶ Military Consultations, April 5, 1795 (ff. 347b, etc.).

Recruiting 1785 to beginning of 19th Century 33

this unfortunate incident, the system of extensive drafts was revived. Thus in 1798 the 1st Extra Battalion received 600 privates from the 2nd and 3rd Regiments of Native Infantry, while the 2nd Extra Battalion received 660 from the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 12th. But in order to avoid the evils which Brathwaite had pointed out, Major-General Floyd was directed to arrange the drafting so as to admit of exchanges amongst the men on account of family connections.¹⁸

About this time we get the first serious complaints of a difficulty in securing good recruits within the limits of the Presidency. The earliest that I have noticed occurs in 1788, when the Governor, Sir Archibald Campbell, mentions "the difficulty of procuring good recruits in the Carnatic."¹⁹ In 1794 Lord Cornwallis writes; "It is impracticable to procure in a short time a considerable number of men of proper caste and of sufficient size and strength for the duties of a soldier, for the native troops on the Madras and Bombay establishments."²⁰ In 1795, Colonel Floyd, commanding the Southern division, declares that few proper recruits can be got South of the Coleroon, as, in spite of the exertions of active officers, even the best battalions have many sepoys too small and much too slender for the service. "In my opinion," he says, "these countries do not now produce, whatever they may have done, any number of proper-built men,"²¹ And the Commander-in-chief himself considered an expedition

¹⁸ G. O. C. C., October 18, 1798 (Madras Army Records, series iii, Army Orders, vol. lix).

¹⁹ Minute of the President, Military Consultations, October 14, 1788 (ff. 3058-60).

²⁰ *Cornwallis Correspondence* Vol. ii, pp. 569, etc.

²¹ Floyd to Brathwaite, August 10, 1795, *ap.* Military Consultations, 1759 (ff. 2444-45).

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against the Dutch islands advisable, because it would permit the raising of Malay battalions to maintain the English military strength upon the Coast, " which I am fearful that it will not be in our power to keep up, even in point of numbers, but by enlisting such as are much better adapted to, and would be more advantageously employed at, the plough and the loom."²²

We do not know enough of the social and economic conditions of Southern India at this period to be able to assign specific causes to this shortage of recruits. The principal reason, however, probably was the ravages of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan in the Second Mysore War. A large number of cultivators had been driven off in herds into Mysore. The whole Carnatic had suffered grievously from famine; and tigers had multiplied, in the wastes which the Mysoreans had left behind them, in such numbers as to demand special measures for their destruction. The immediate result would be an increase of the supply of recruits, although these would not be men of high military qualities; but this would certainly be followed by a falling-off in numbers as the effects of famine and un-employment developed. These were also accentuated, in all probability, by the preparations which Tipu Sultan was making, for a fight to the finish for the predominance of the South; nor were they counteracted by any increase in the sepoy's pay.

However this may be, the difficulty of recruiting the Madras regiments brought about an interesting experiment in recruiting them in other provinces. The original suggestion for this was made by Captain

White early in 1795.²³ This idea was taken up by both the Commander-in-chief (Brathwaite) and other officers in high command. Thus Colonel Floyd wrote in the letter already quoted, "A recruit of 4,000 or 5,000 stout Bengalese (*sic*) would infinitely improve the native battalions of the Coast; and I dare say would be excellent sepoy under proper management." Brathwaite reported that the sepoy battalions had fallen off in the last ten years both in the look and size of the men, and could only be kept up to strength by drawing on the non-military castes for recruits. "For these reasons I think it would be a most excellent thing if we could draw recruits . . . from Bengal and Bombay." He concluded by recommending that 600 or 700 men should be obtained annually, and distributed among the various Coast battalions.²⁴

Both the Bombay and the Supreme Governments were therefore addressed. The answer from Bombay was a decided negative. "The natives of this country would have insurmountable objections to be stationary at either of the other presidencies . . . There are few (we believe) if any of the natives of this side of India in the Bengal or Madras battalions, while the Bombay battalions are chiefly composed of men from Bengal and other countries not subject to, this Government." Moreover the Bombay Native infantry was actually 1800 men short of complement.²⁵

²³ Captain White's Proposals, February 24, 1795, *ap.* Military Consultations, 1795 (ff. 659). It may be noted that in 1768 the Bengal Government authorised the recruitment of any sepoy of Peach's detachment who would join; but this seems to have been quite fruitless.

²⁴ Letter from Brathwaite, March 9, 1795, *ap.* Military Consultations, 1795, ff. 645-48.

²⁵ Letter from Bombay, August 26, 1795, *ibid.*, ff. 2979-80.

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The Bengal authorities agreed to give a trial to the plan, although they were diffident of its success. The conditions demanded were that the men should be not under 5 feet 5 inches in height and in age between 16 and 30, except in the case of duly discharged sepoys who might be re-entertained. No stipulations concerning caste or religion seem to have been made.²⁶

Accordingly Captain White, the proposer of the scheme, was sent to Bengal, and raised 350 sepoys and 150 gun-lascars, who reached Madras at the end of the year. Brathwaite inspected them and found them "upon the whole a very good lot of recruits" young, strong and healthy, though shorter than the generality of Bengal sepoys. A hundred had brought their families with them, as though recruits"—young, strong and healthy, though shorter promised well. The only danger which Brathwaite foresaw was one which should have been foreseen when the plan was first broached—the high cost of grain in the South as compared with Bengal. "In fact the price of grain is usually so high with us that a sepoy can scarcely subsist on his pay."²⁷

Another party of recruits arrived from Bengal in the following March. But in that short time Government had already seen enough to convince themselves of the inexpediency of the measure. In spite of every effort, the Bengal recruits could not be kept with the colours. Their "great and frequent desertion" compelled the Madras Council to request the cessation of the recruiting in Bengal.²⁸ A little

²⁶ Letters from the Supreme Government, June 22 and July 13, 1795, *ibid.*, ff. 2066 and 2332-33.

²⁷ Letter from Brathwaite, December 21, 1795, *op. cit.*, Consultations, 1795, ff. 4951-53.

²⁸ Minute of March 29, 1796, *ibid.*, 1796, ff. 137-79.

later they wrote that the plan had "completely failed, owing to the constant desertion of the men."²⁹

The result of this experiment shows that, towards the close of the 18th century at all events, the Madras Sepoy battalions were recruited principally from families already settled in the South. Nor does any different state of things appear to have prevailed within current memory. No reference is made, in the papers relating to this affair, to any former period when adventurers from the North had been wont to enlist in appreciable numbers. And this argument from silence is strengthened by the language employed by Captain White in formulating his proposals. "It is probable," he writes, "that in the course of a few years the intercourse between Bengal and Madras *may wear away those prejudices which exist at present* and that adventurers will come round in sufficient numbers without any solicitation whatever and offer themselves at the different military stations in the Carnatic and its dependencies for entertainment." I do not think such phraseology could have been used had there been any tradition in the service of recruitment from the North.

Shortly after this unfortunate experiment, recruiting became easier in the South, and General Harris's report on the subject in 1798 is specially interesting. "Although the men obtained in the more Southern countries," he says, "are much inferior to the Northern recruits in caste, size, and appearance, they are nevertheless hardy and thrifty, and being less subject to local attachments, and little encumbered with religious habits or prejudices to interfere with the regular performance of their

²⁹ Military Consultations, February 9, 1798, ff. 805-06.

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duty, are found to stand the pressure of military hardships with much fortitude, and to manifest at all times a firm adherence to the service. Besides for the southern corps some choice recruits have been obtained from different parts of the Northern Circars; so that, notwithstanding a few only remain of the men procured from Bengal, the Native Battalions on the Coast with a few exceptions are complete to their full establishment."³⁰

It will be observed that, while the virtues of the Tamil recruit are here expressly recognised, the reference to the Northern Circars strongly suggests that the prejudice against the Telugu recruits, which had certainly prevailed a few years earlier, had subsided.

³⁰ Minute of the Commander-in-Chief, May 1, 1798, *op. Military Consultations*, 1798, ff. 2807-08.

CHAPTER VI.

COMPOSITION 1765 TO THE BEGINNING OF THE 19TH CENTURY.

In order to complete our survey of the evidence regarding the recruitment and composition of the Madras Sepoys in the latter part of the 18th century, it remains for us briefly to note certain general indications to be found scattered through the voluminous records of the time. The first of these relates to language. From the first, Hindustani was the officially recognised sepoy language; and so early as 1770 the Company ordered that all officers commanding Sepoys "should be able to converse in the Moorish language, and this should be deemed a general and indispensable qualification."¹ But Hindustani was not supposed to be necessarily their native tongue. In 1776 the articles of war "in Malabars" i.e., Tamil, were circulated, with orders to have them read out at the head of the

¹ Army Order, May 20, 1770.

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c battalions every two months.² The standing orders of 1787 included this regulation, with the addition that the articles of war were to be translated "into Malabar or other country language."³ In 1796 the articles of war were to be read to recruits in Persian, Moorish or Malabar.⁴ It may seem odd that there should be no specific mention of "Gentu," as Telugu was commonly called in the 18th century. One possible explanation is that men from the Northern Circars all spoke Hindustani, while the Telugus scattered over the South must have spoken Tamil as well as their native tongue.

Again, a few returns have survived showing the names of the sepoy officers in various battalions; and, while these returns are too incomplete to enable us to judge with any certainty the proportion of Muhammadans and Hindus who rose to the rank of officers, or even to follow a battalion through any period of time to see whether the proportions varied, the results are not in themselves uninteresting. Thus from a return of 1761 we find that in 9 companies of sepoys in camp before Vellore, the subadars and jemadars—the only ranks named—were half Muhammadan and half Hindu. The next returns which survive belong to the years 1766-67, and relate to 6 battalions and a half—the 2nd, 7th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 15th and 16th. In these there were 189 Subadars and Jemadars, of whom 119 or 63 per cent. were Mussalmans. But this average covers some remarkable variations. The 11th and the 15th had only 6 and 7 Hindu Officers of the named ranks out of 28 and 30, while the half-battalion of

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the 2nd at Masulipatam had 12 out of 15. Similar returns between 1773 and 1777, relating to the 10th, the 2nd^s and the 21st Carnatic battalions, show a proportion in each corresponding with the average given above. It is probably significant that the returns for the 7th and 8th Battalions of 1766, which include the names of all sepoy officers, show out of a total of 300 only 161 Mussalman names—a percentage of less than 54. We find a similar increase in the Muhammadans holding the higher ranks in the 1st Native Veteran Battalion in 1834, when the Muhammadan percentage of all officers was 56, while their percentage among the Subadars and Jemadars was 61. Such returns as have survived for 1804-08—the only other group of returns which seems to have survived for the earlier period—shows 148 Muhammadans among the Subadars and Jemadars of 12 battalions—a percentage of 62. It seems on the whole likely in spite of the incomplete nature of the returns that not quite two-thirds of the higher ranks of the Sepoy battalions were filled by Muhammadans, and something over one-third by Hindus.

But there are no grounds for supposing that this proportion was maintained throughout all the ranks. Indeed, the probability is that Muhammadans furnished perhaps over a third but less than a half of the whole Sepoy force. Here the returns help us but little. The only ones in the least relevant are casualty and invaliding returns with a small group of recruit lists. An invaliding Committee which sat

^s This is not the same as the 2nd battalion named above, which became the 1st Circar and was broken up in 1785. The present battalion is the 2nd Carnatic—the 2nd Native Infantry of the old Madras Army.

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on April 4, 1775, dealt with 89 cases, an analysis of which yields the following results:—

| Caste. | % | Total Number. | COUNTRY OF ORIGIN. | | | | |
|--------------|------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| | | | Carnatic. | S. of Coleroon. | Northern Circars. | Mysore and Hyderabad. | Northern India. |
| Muhammadans | 42·7 | 38 | 18 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 4 |
| Malabars | 17·9 | 16 | 6 | 10 | ... | ... | ... |
| Gentues | 24·7 | 22 | 4 | 11 | 4 | 3 | ... |
| Rajputs. | ... | 3 | ... | 1 | 1 | 1 | .. |
| Marathas | ... | 3 | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Pariahs etc. | ... | 7 | ... | 6 | ... | 1 | .. |
| | | 89 | 31 | 35 | 8 | 11 | 4 |
| | | | 34·8% | 39·3% | 9% | 12·4% | 4·5% |

Another invaliding committee which sat on March 26, 1777, dealt with 15 cases. These included 6 Muhammadans—3 from the Carnatic, and one each from Trichinopoly, Rajahmundry and Cuddapah. But it is apparent that no conclusions can be drawn from such small numbers.

From the returns of 320 casualties to the Eastwards in 1802, we find that Hindus and Mussalmans contributed equal shares, while half the individuals came from the Carnatic and a quarter from the Circars; and in 1803 by 368 patients in the hospital at Seringapatam, Hindus and Mussalmans were again equally represented.

Much more important than the foregoing, from the relatively large number involved, is the return of casualties suffered by the 4th, 6th, 9th, 10th, 20th and 42nd Battalions in Kinnareddy and Gurnoor.

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between 1811 and 1823. These totalled 2,287 and Muhammadans formed 42·4 per cent. of that total.

The casualty and cognate returns thus give a proportion running from 40 to 50 per cent. The surviving lists of recruits give a higher percentage, although that is for a later period, and thus is not necessarily inconsistent with the percentages given above. The following is an analysis of the results for each year for which lists relating to four or more battalions are available :—

| Year. | Number of Battalions. | Total Recruits shown. | Muhammadan Recruits. | Percentage. |
|------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| 1796 . . . | 5 | 249 | 126 | 50·6 |
| 1805 . . . | 4 | 272 | 151 | 55·5 |
| 1813 . . . | 9 | 607 | 319 | 52·5 |
| 1814 . . . | 11 | 751 | 449 | 59·8 |

Besides these, there are lists relating to six other years, but with only 3 or less battalions to each year. In two of these six years the percentage falls within the above limits, in one it is less, and in the remaining three it is greater. So far as these lists go, I conclude that, at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, the rate of Muhammadan recruitment exceeded the proportion then in the ranks.

I believe then that the proportion of Muhammadans about the end of the 18th century varied between 40 and 50 per cent., but inclining to the lower figure. This opinion, which is consistent enough with the figures already quoted, is

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c confirmed by more general evidence. A roll of the 50th Battalion dated in 1791 shows that the Muhammadans in it amounted to 45 per cent. Cornwallis in 1794 described the Madras sepoy as mostly Hindu.⁶ Colonel Thomas Munro, discussing the Vellore Mutiny, observes that the restoration of the Muhammadan family in Mysore "could have been desirable to none of the Hindus, who form the bulk of the native troops;" while Welsh describes the Muhammadans as forming at least a third of them.⁸

⁶ *Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol. ii, p. 569.

⁷ Gleig, *Memoirs of Sir Thomas Munro*, vol. i, p. 364.

⁸ *Military Reminiscences*, vol. i, pp. 14-15.

CHAPTER VII.

THE 19TH CENTURY.

With the 19th century we reach firmer ground; and find two important groups of documents. One of these consists of certain regimental registers of about the year 1824; the other consists of the Caste Returns which were prepared annually from 1859. The Regimental registers contain the details of each man's enlistment, caste, region of origin, and services. They are unfortunately incomplete, but as the registers of 16 battalions have survived, it is likely that what results can be drawn from them are deserving of confidence. They also furnish the earliest evidence known to me—apart from the indications given above—of the districts from which the Madras sepoys were derived.¹

The accompanying diagram indicates the composition of the regiments the registers of which have been lodged in my office. It will be seen that the Muhammadans and Telingas between them supplied three-quarters of the whole, in (roughly) the proportion of 4 to 3. However it will be observed that in three out of the 16 battalions, the Telingas contributed over a half of the men, and there were as many others predominantly Mussalman. There

¹ Abstracts of these registers are printed in the Appendix.

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were 4 battalions with 40 to 50 per cent. Muhammadans as against 2 with that proportion of Telingas, and 7 with 30 to 40 per cent. Muhammadans as against 4 containing as many Telingas. Thus the Muhammadan predominance is well marked, in spite of occasional exceptions.

The Tamils on the whole provided not a third of the numbers provided by the Telingas; the average percentage is only 11.3; and in no case did they amount to a third of a whole battalion, though in one the actual number of Tamils exceeds that of the Telingas; but in another there seem to have been no Tamils at all.

The group Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmans contributed 7.6 per cent. of the whole, fairly equally distributed, for only in two cases did they amount to 10 per cent. Other castes (Christians and Pariahs) amounted to 4.7 per cent.

Such is one aspect presented by a tabulation of the Regimental Registers. Another is the proportion of the different castes recruited in the various districts. These naturally vary a great deal. In the Carnatic half the recruits seem to have been Muhammadans, and nearly a quarter Telingas; in Trichinopoly and the Southern districts, 41 per cent. were Tamils, 30 Muhammadans, and 20 Telingas; in the Northern Circars the recruits consisted of 57 per cent. Telingas, and 37 per cent. Muhammadans; while the Mysore and the Ceded Districts recruits were two-thirds Muhammadans. Thus Muhammadans were recruited in every group of district in Southern India in large numbers, never falling (so far as the figures before us go) below 30 per cent. I believe that these figures may be taken as fairly representative of the recruiting of the whole



Sepoy force, for, in reply to a reference from the Government of India in 1894, the Madras Government remarked that Muhammadans were scattered through all the districts of the Presidency and their recruiting could not be localised or centralised.² However it does not appear that the majority of the men who came from Hyderabad and Northern India were Muhammadans; they seem to have been chiefly Rajputs and Brahmans.

The best recruiting region about this time was evidently afforded by the Northern Circars, which provided over 35 per cent. of the 6,500 men enumerated in the Regimental Registers; next came Trichinopoly and the Southern districts with over 30 per cent.; the Carnatic provided 16 per cent., Mysore and the Ceded districts 11 per cent., Hyderabad and Northern India only 6 per cent. The following table shows the percentages of each caste and of the whole, grouped according to the stated places of origin in the registers:—

| | % of the whole. | Carnatic | Trichinopoly & the South. | Northern Circars. | Mysore etc. | Hindustan. |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------|---------------------------|-------------------|-------------|------------|
| | | % | % | % | % | % |
| Muhammadans . | 41·8 | 20·3 | 23·3 | 32·3 | 19· | 5·1 |
| Telingas . . | 34·6 | 11·6 | 19·7 | 63·1 | 5·6 | ... |
| Tamils . . | 11·3 | 16·6 | 79·9 | 3 | 3·2 | ... |
| Rajputs, etc. . | 7·6 | 12·8 | 9 | 14 | 14·4 | 49·8 |
| Other castes . | 4·7 | 26·4 | 40·1 | 16 | 7 | 10·5 |
| All castes . . | 100 | 16·7 | 30·9 | 35·15 | 11·2 | 6·5 |

² E. M. C. Military, Nos 167-69, December 8, 1894.

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The 16 battalions, the registers of which are analysed above, were evidently drawn to the extent of almost nineteen-twentieths from Southern India. A somewhat larger proportion in other battalions must have been drawn from Northern India, if the general statements made about this time may be accepted. It is likely that the units which served outside the presidency during and after the 2nd Maratha War picked up a number of recruits locally, and some of these are said to have been drafted into other battalions.³ They are said to have numbered 5000 in all.⁴ But it is not apparent that this is more than a guess, for no evidence is alleged in its support. However that may be, in 1824, 16 out of the 51 battalions of Sepoy infantry had less than 400 men on their rolls who claimed to come from Northern India.

We now turn to consider the caste-returns, the earliest of which appears to be one dated July 1, 1859,⁵ and there is another isolated return of August 1, 1861.⁶ These yield the following results :—

| | 1859. | | 1861 | |
|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------|------------------------|
| | Officers. | N. C. O.s. and men. | Officers. | N. C. O.s. and men. |
| | % | % | % | % |
| Mussalmans | 58.1 | 31 | 58.9 | 31.9 |
| Telingas | 23.3 | 39.7 | 23 | 19.4 |
| Tamils | 9.4 | 11.9 | 9.6 | 10.2 |
| Brahmans, etc. . . . | 6.6 | 4.5 | 7.2 | 4.7 |
| Other castes | 6 | 12.9 | 13 | 13.2 |

³ Jackson, *Historical Records of the 13th Madras Infantry*, p. 121.

⁴ Wilson, *History of the Madras Army*, vol. vi, p. 301.

⁵ This is in the India Office Records, and was loaned me by the courtesy of Mr. W. Forrest, C.I.E.

⁶ E. M. C., Military No. 48559, August 25, 1861.

Two points in these figures merit a word of notice. The first is the disproportion between the percentages of Mussalman officers and other ranks. They provide more than half the officers while they barely supply a third of the non-commissioned officers and men. This I take to have been a constant feature, indicating the superior military efficiency of the Muhammadan sepoys; even the fragmentary evidence of the 18th century points the same way, though too incomplete to be conclusive. A similar disproportion is shown by the percentages of Brahman and Rajput officers and other ranks.

The other point is that the proportion of Muhammadans and Telingas has been reversed. Whereas there is reason to suppose that in earlier times the Mussalman had been to the Telinga as 4 to 3, now it was 3 to almost 4. I am not clear why this change should have taken place; but a tentative suggestion may be hazarded, that the Mussalman population of the South had tended to lag behind the growth of the rest of the population.

With the year 1878 begins a continuous series of caste returns which show not only the composition of the Madras sepoys in point of race, but also their places of origin⁷. We find that the Muhammadans had increased somewhat, furnishing 34 or 35 per cent., while the Telingas had declined to 37 or 38. Tamil recruiting had evidently fallen off and Tamils amounted to less than a tenth of the whole force. The other castes furnished practically the same proportions as before.

If we turn to the regions of origin we see some well-marked differences, as compared with the results

⁷ Abstracts of some of these are printed in the Appendix.

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of the Regimental Registers. The Northern Circars remained the chief recruiting region, and supplied 43 instead of 35 per cent.; the Carnatic similarly increased from 16 to 23 or 24 per cent.; but Trichinopoly and the Southern districts furnished only 17 per cent. of the recruits, instead of 30. I cannot determine whether this reflects a real change, or is only the result of the incomplete nature of the earlier figures.

APPENDIX.

Abstract, Regimental Register, 1st Native Infantry, 1824.

(Madras Army Records, Series III (b), Vol. No 1).

| Caste. | Carnatic. | Trichinopoly, etc. | Northern Cir- cars. | Mysore and Ceded Dis- tricts. | Hindustan. | Total. | Percentage. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| Muhammadans | 25 | 37 | 41 | 25 | 12 | 140 | 45.90 |
| Telingas . | 11 | 14 | 44 | 8 | 1 | 78 | 25.57 |
| Tamils . . . | 15 | 23 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 44 | 14.42 |
| Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmans | 2 | .. | 3 | 4 | 19 | 28 | 9.18 |
| Other castes . | .. | 5 | .. | 1 | 9 | 15 | 4.91 |
| Total . | 53 | 79 | 89 | 42 | 42 | 305 | 99.98 |
| Percentage | 17.37 | 25.90 | 29.18 | 13.77 | 13.77 | 99.99 | |

Abstract, Regimental Register, 18th Regiment Native Infantry, 1824.

(Madras Army Records, Series III (b), Vol. No 6).

| Caste. | Carnatic. | Trichinopoly, etc. | Northern Cir- cars. | Mysore and Ceded Dis- tricts. | Hindustan. | Total. | Percentage. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| Muhammadans | 56 | 22 | 21 | 12 | 3 | 114 | 36.89 |
| Telingas . . . | 27 | 10 | 59 | 2 | .. | 98 | 31.71 |
| Tamils . . . | 36 | 31 | .. | .. | .. | 67 | 21.68 |
| Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmans | 7 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 21 | 6.78 |
| Other castes . | 3 | 5 | 1 | .. | .. | 9 | 2.91 |
| Total . | 129 | 70 | 82 | 16 | 12 | 309 | 99.97 |
| Percentage . | 41.74 | 22.64 | 26.47 | 5.16 | 3.88 | 99.89 | |

Abstract, Regimental Register, 29th Native Infantry.

(Madras Army Records, Series III (b), Vol. No 9).

| Caste. | Carnatic. | Trichinopoly. etc. | Northern Circars. | Mysore and Ceded Dis- tricts. | Hindustan. | Total. | Percentage. |
|--|-----------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| Muhammadans | 2 | 1 | 19 | 1 | .. | 23 | 65.71 |
| Telingas . | .. | 1 | 8 | .. | .. | 9 | 25.71 |
| Tamils . | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 2.85 |
| Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmans } | .. | .. | 1 | .. | 1 | 2 | 5.71 |
| Other castes . | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Total . | 2 | 3 | 28 | 1 | 1 | 35 | 99.98 |
| Percentage . | 5.71 | 8.57 | 80.00 | 2.85 | 2.85 | 99.98 | |

Abstract, Regimental Register, 32nd Native Infantry, 1793-1824.

(Madras Army Records, Series III (b), Vol. No 18).

| Caste. | Carnatic. | Trichinopoly. etc. | Northern Circars. | Mysore and Ceded Dis- tricts. | Hindustan. | Total. | Percentage. |
|--|-----------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| Muhammadans | 12 | 56 | 21 | 14 | 5 | 108 | 34.94 |
| Telingas . | 9 | 25 | 70 | 1 | 1 | 106 | 34.30 |
| Tamils . | 8 | 50 | .. | .. | .. | 58 | 18.77 |
| Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmans } | 1 | 12 | 2 | .. | 2 | 17 | 5.43 |
| Other castes . | 3 | 16 | .. | 1 | .. | 20 | 6.47 |
| Total . | 33 | 152 | 93 | 16 | 8 | 302 | 99.97 |
| Percentage . | 10.67 | 51.44 | 30.60 | 5.16 | 2.54 | 99.94 | |

Abstract, Regimental Register, 33rd Native Infantry, 1823.

(Madras Army Records, Series III (b), Vol. No 25).

| Caste. | Carnatic. | Trichinopoly, etc. | Northern Circars. | Mysore and Ceded Dis- tricts. | Hindustan. | Total. | Percentage. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| Muhammadans | 12 | 3 | 66 | 5 | 15 | 101 | 32.68 |
| Telingas . | 8 | 7 | 116 | 6 | 1 | 138 | 44.66 |
| Tamils . | .. | 14 | .. | 2 | 2 | 18 | 5.82 |
| Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmans | .. | .. | 12 | 1 | 24 | 37 | 11.96 |
| Other castes . | .. | 4 | 9 | .. | 2 | 15 | 4.85 |
| Total . | 20 | 28 | 203 | 14 | 44 | 309 | 99.97 |
| Percentage . | 6.47 | 9.05 | 65.69 | 4.52 | 14.23 | 99.96 | |

Abstract, Regimental Register, 34th Native Infantry, 1824.

(Madras Army Records, Series III (b), Vol. No 34).

| Caste. | Carnatic. | Trichinopoly, etc. | Northern Circars. | Mysore and Ceded Dis- tricts. | Hindustan. | Total. | Percentage. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| Muhammadans | 4 | .. | 71 | 3 | 11 | 89 | 29.96 |
| Telingas . | 4 | 8 | 145 | 1 | 2 | 151 | 54.21 |
| Tamils . | 2 | 5 | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 2.36 |
| Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmans | .. | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 12 | 4.13 |
| Other castes . | 1 | 4 | 13 | .. | 11 | 26 | 8.42 |
| Total . | 11 | 18 | 232 | 5 | 31 | 297 | 99.98 |
| Percentage . | 3.7 | 6.05 | 78.1 | 1.68 | 10.45 | 99.97 | |

Abstract, Regimental Register, 35th Native Infantry, 1823.

(Madras Army Records, Series III (b), Vol. No 35).

| Caste. | Carnatic. | Trichinopoly, etc. | Northern Circars. | Mysore and Ceded Dis- tricts. | Hindustan. | Total. | Percentage. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| Muhammadans | 21 | 10 | 17 | 132 | 9 | 189 | 60.57 |
| Telingas . . | 6 | 5 | 11 | 25 | .. | 47 | 15.06 |
| Tamils . . | 3 | 13 | .. | 7 | 1 | 24 | 7.69 |
| Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmans | 3 | 2 | 1 | 16 | 10 | 32 | 10.24 |
| Other castes . | 6 | 6 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 20 | 6.41 |
| Total . | 39 | 36 | 30 | 186 | 21 | 312 | 99.97 |
| Percentage . | 12.50 | 11.52 | 9.61 | 59.60 | 6.72 | 99.95 | |

Abstract, Regimental Register, 36th Native Infantry, 1825.

(Madras Army Records, Series III (b), Vol. No 37).

| Caste. | Carnatic. | Trichinopoly, etc. | Northern Circars. | Mysore and Ceded Dis- tricts. | Hindustan. | Total. | Percentage. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| Muhammadans | 29 | 44 | 6 | 101 | 15 | 195 | 62.30 |
| Telingas . . | 1 | 22 | 16 | 9 | 2 | 50 | 15.97 |
| Tamils . . | 2 | 34 | .. | 5 | .. | 41 | 13.00 |
| Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmans | 1 | 3 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 13 | 4.14 |
| Other castes . | 4 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 14 | 4.47 |
| Total . | 37 | 106 | 24 | 126 | 25 | 318 | 99.97 |
| Percentage . | 11.85 | 33.85 | 7.66 | 40.21 | 6.18 | 99.85 | |

Abstract, Regimental Register, 37th Native Infantry (Grenadiers) 1836.

(Madras Army Records, Series III (b), Vol. No 38).

| Caste. | Carnatic. | Trichinopoly, etc. | Northern Circars. | Mysore and Ceded Dis- tricts. | Hindustan. | Total. | Percentage. |
|--|-----------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| Muhammadans | 18 | 8 | 63 | 6 | 14 | 109 | 35.16 |
| Telingas . . . | 3 | 3 | 148 | 6 | 9 | 169 | 54.51 |
| Tamils . . . | 1 | 3 | .. | .. | 1 | 5 | 1.61 |
| Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmans } . . . | .. | .. | 1 | 1 | 23 | 25 | 8.06 |
| Other castes . . | 1 | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 2 | .64 |
| Total . . . | 23 | 14 | 212 | 13 | 48 | 310 | 99.98 |
| Percentage . . | 7.41 | 4.51 | 68.36 | 4.19 | 15.48 | 99.95 | |

Abstract, Regimental Register, 38th Native Infantry (Grenadiers) 1820.

(Madras Army Records, Series III (b), Vol. No 39).

| Caste. | Carnatic. | Trichinopoly, etc. | Northern Circars. | Mysore and Ceded Dis- tricts. | Hindustan. | Total. | Percentage. |
|--|-----------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| Muhammadans | 15 | 28 | 71 | 25 | 5 | 144 | 46.38 |
| Telingas . . . | 8 | 17 | 85 | 5 | 2 | 117 | 37.74 |
| Tamils . . . | .. | 13 | .. | .. | 1 | 14 | 4.51 |
| Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmans } . . . | 3 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 16 | 5.15 |
| Other castes . . | 7 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 19 | 6.12 |
| Total . . . | 33 | 65 | 163 | 34 | 15 | 310 | 99.90 |
| Percentage . . | 10.64 | 21.26 | 52.58 | 10.96 | 4.83 | 100.27 | |

APPENDIX

Abstract, Regimental Register, 40th Native Infantry, 1824. (Madras Army Records, Series III (b), Vol. No 40).

| Caste. | Carnatic. | Trichinopoly, etc. | Northern Circars. | Mysore and Ceded Districts. | Hindustan. | Total. | Percentage. |
|-----------------------|-----------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| Muhammadans | 26 | 43 | 61 | 9 | 7 | 146 | 37.00 |
| Telingas | 10 | 24 | 55 | .. | .. | 89 | 28.71 |
| Tamils | 6 | 47 | .. | .. | 6 | 53 | 17.00 |
| Rajputs | 1 | .. | 7 | .. | .. | 14 | 4.51 |
| Marathas and Brahmins | 3 | 4 | 1 | .. | .. | 8 | 2.58 |
| Other castes | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Total | 46 | 118 | 124 | 9 | 13 | 310 | 99.93 |
| Percentage | 14.83 | 38.06 | 40.00 | 2.89 | 4.19 | 99.97 | .. |

Abstract, Regimental Register, 41st Native Infantry, 1824. (Madras Army Records, Series III (b), Vol. No 41).

| Caste. | Carnatic | Trichinopoly, etc. | Northern Circars. | Mysore and Ceded Districts. | Hindustan. | Total. | Percentage. |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| Muhammadans | 3 | .. | 77 | 2 | 1 | 83 | 27.66 |
| Telingas | 2 | .. | 195 | .. | 1 | 198 | 66.00 |
| Tamils | .. | .. | .. | 5 | .. | 5 | 1.65 |
| Rajputs | .. | .. | .. | 8 | 1 | 9 | 2.97 |
| Marathas and Brahmins | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 0.33 |
| Other castes | 6 | .. | 25 | .. | 3 | 34 | 11.33 |
| Total | 12 | .. | 272 | 15 | 6 | 305 | 100.00 |
| Percentage | 3.93 | .. | 89.18 | 4.92 | 1.97 | 100.00 | .. |

Abstract, Regimental Register, 43rd Native Infantry, 1824.

(Madras Army Records, Series IW (b), Vol. No 42).

| Caste. | Carnatic. | Trichinopoly. etc. | Northern Circars. | Mysore and Ceded Dis- tricts. | Hindustan. | Total. | Percentage. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| Muhammadans | 46 | 14 | 45 | 48 | 12 | 165 | 53.05 |
| Telingas | 20 | 4 | 61 | 12 | 7 | 104 | 33.44 |
| Tamils | 5 | 13 | .. | 1 | .. | 19 | 6.10 |
| Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmans | 1 | .. | 4 | 4 | 2 | 11 | 3.53 |
| Other castes | 8 | 2 | .. | 1 | 1 | 12 | 3.85 |
| Total | 80 | 33 | 110 | 66 | 22 | 311 | 99.97 |
| Percentage | 25.72 | 10.60 | 35.36 | 21.21 | 7.07 | 99.96 | |

Abstract, Regimental Register, 46th Native Infantry, 1824.

(Madras Army Records, Series III (b), Vol. No 43).

| Caste. | Carnatic. | Trichinopoly. etc. | Northern Circars. | Mysore and Ceded Dis- tricts. | Hindustan. | Total. | Percentage. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| Muhammadans | 42 | 33 | 14 | 19 | 7 | 115 | 38.33 |
| Telingas | 6 | 31 | 20 | 5 | .. | 62 | 20.66 |
| Tamils | 11 | 37 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 52 | 17.33 |
| Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmans | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 34 | 11.32 |
| Other castes | 16 | 6 | 3 | .. | 12 | 37 | 12.33 |
| Total | 79 | 110 | 41 | 28 | 42 | 300 | 99.97 |
| Percentage | 26.33 | 36.66 | 13.66 | 9.33 | 14.00 | 99.98 | |

Abstract, Regimental Register, 47th Native Infantry, 1820.

(Madras Army Records, Series III (b), Vol. No 44).

| Caste. | Carnatic. | Trichinopoly, etc. | Northern Circars. | Mysore and Ceded Dis- tricts. | Hindustan. | Total. | Percentage. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| Muhammadans | 4 | 2 | 85 | 11 | 27 | 129 | 43.14 |
| Telingas . . | 1 | 3 | 114 | 2 | 5 | 125 | 41.81 |
| Tamils . . | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | 2 | 0.67 |
| Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmans | 1 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 31 | 42 | 14.04 |
| Other castes . | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | 1 | 0.33 |
| Total . | 6 | 8 | 207 | 15 | 63 | 299 | 99.99 |
| Percentage . | 2.01 | 2.74 | 69.23 | 5.00 | 21.07 | 100.05 | |

Abstract, Regimental Register, 48th Native Infantry, 1820.

(Madras Army Records, Series III (b), Vol. No 45).

| Caste. | Carnatic. | Trichinopoly, etc. | Northern Circars. | Mysore and Ceded Dis- tricts. | Hindustan. | Total. | Percentage. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| Muhammadans | 50 | 15 | 11 | 36 | 10 | 122 | 30.34 |
| Telingas . . | 44 | 10 | 6 | 12 | 1 | 73 | 18.34 |
| Tamils . . | 40 | 20 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 64 | 16.04 |
| Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmans | 3 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 31 | 42 | 10.51 |
| Other castes . | 3 | 2 | .. | 1 | 4 | 10 | 2.51 |
| Total . | 140 | 51 | 20 | 53 | 46 | 310 | 99.99 |
| Percentage . | 45.16 | 16.44 | 6.45 | 17.09 | 14.83 | 100.07 | |

Abstract, Regimental Register, 51st Native Infantry, 1837.

(Madras Army Records, Series III (b), Vol. No 46).

| Caste. | Carnatic. | Trichinopoly, etc. | Northern Circar. | Mysoor and Coel Districts. | Madras. | Total. | Percentage. |
|--------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|---------|--------|-------------|
| Muhammadans | 180 | 309 | 194 | 56 | 32 | 771 | 35.67 |
| Telingas | 87 | 232 | 189 | 22 | 10 | 540 | 25.12 |
| Tamils | 45 | 531 | .. | 10 | 52 | 638 | 29.68 |
| Rajputs, | 33 | 12 | 10 | 24 | 39 | 118 | 5.49 |
| Marathas and Brahmans | | | | | | | |
| Other castes | 20 | 53 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 82 | 3.81 |
| Total | 365 | 1137 | 398 | 115 | 134 | 2149 | 99.97 |
| Percentage | 16.98 | 52.90 | 18.52 | 5.33 | 6.23 | 99.96 | |

**Abstract, Caste Return (Military Dept Procs R. No 4277
dated August 20, 1878).**

| Year. | Caste. | Number of all ranks. | Percentage of privates and naigues. | Percentage of Commissioned and Non-commissioned officers. |
|-------|--------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1878 | Muhammadans | 9,962 | 35.24 | 48.55 |
| | Telingas | 10,372 | 38.41 | 31.34 |
| | Tamils | 2,410 | 8.70 | 8.67 |
| | Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmins | 1,407 | 5.05 | 5.88 |
| | Other castes | 3,898 | 12.57 | 5.34 |
| | Total | 28,049 | 99.97 | 99.98 |

**Abstract, Caste Return (Military Dept Procs R. No 4584
dated August 20, 1879).**

| Year. | Caste. | Number of all ranks. | Percentage of privates and naigues. | Percentage of Commissioned and Non-commissioned officers. |
|-------|--------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1879 | Muhammadans | 9,620 | 34.88 | 47.41 |
| | Telingas | 10,132 | 38.32 | 32.67 |
| | Tamils | 2,415 | 9.00 | 9.19 |
| | Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmins | 1,354 | 5.04 | 5.17 |
| | Other castes | 3,681 | 12.72 | 5.31 |
| | Total | 27,402 | 100% | 100% |

APPENDIX

Abstract, Caste Return (Military Dept Procs R. No 5380
dated August 24, 1880).

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| Year. | Caste. | Number of all ranks. | Percentage of privates and naigues. | Percentage of Commissioned and Non-commissioned officers. |
|-------|--------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1880 | Muhammadans | 9,483 | 34.23 | 47.05 |
| | Telingas | 10,034 | 37.74 | 33.18 |
| | Tamils | 2,662 | 9.56 | 9.23 |
| | Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmans | 1,550 | 5.84 | 6.94 |
| | Other castes | 3,756 | 12.52 | 5.56 |
| | Total | 27,485 | 99.95 | 99.95 |

Abstract, Districts of origin (Military Dept Proc
R. No 4277 dated August 20, 1878).

| Year. | Districts of origin. | Number of all ranks. | Percentage. |
|-------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| 1878 | Carnatic | 6,631 | 25.64 |
| | Trichinopoly, etc. | 4,980 | 17.74 |
| | Northern Circars | 12,103 | 43.14 |
| | Mysore and Ceded Districts | 3,220 | 11.47 |
| | Hindustan | 1,115 | 3.97 |
| | Total | 28,049 | 99.96 |

Abstract, Districts of origin (Military Dept Proc
R. No 4584 dated August 20, 1879).

| Year. | Districts of origin. | Number of all ranks. | Percentage. |
|-------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| 1879 | Carnatic | 6,606 | 24.10 |
| | Trichinopoly, etc. | 4,150 | 17.59 |
| | Northern Circars | 11,715 | 42.75 |
| | Mysore and Ceded Districts | 3,295 | 12.02 |
| | Hindustan | 936 | 3.41 |
| | Total | 27,402 | 99.97 |

APPENDIX

XIII

Abstract, Districts of origin (Military Dept Procs
R. No 5380 dated August 24, 1880).

| Year. | Districts of origin. | Number of all ranks. | Percentage. |
|-------|----------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| 1880 | Carnatic | 6,729 | 24.48 |
| | Trichinopoly, etc. | 4,690 | 16.98 |
| | Northern Circars | 11,923 | 43.38 |
| | Mysore and Ceded Districts | 3,241 | 11.78 |
| | Hindustan | 902 | 3.28 |
| | Total | 27,485 | 99.90 |



